CHAPTER - II

CONCEPTS AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In the first section, an attempt is made to specify the concepts employed in the present study. And a review of literature is presented in the second section.

2.2 Concepts

Homer Folks (1940) the Chairman of the United States National Child Labour Committee, defines child labour as “any work by children that interferes with their full physical development, their opportunities for desirable minimum of education or their needed recreation”.

Groups concerned with children’s rights differentiate between child work and child labour. Child labour is that form of work, which is detrimental to the growth, and development of the child. Family work, which interferes with a child’s education, recreation, or physical, mental, or moral health is also considered as child labour.
2.2.1 Definition of Child Labour

2.2.2 Who is a Child?

V.V. Giri National Labour Institute (2001) emphasised that, every child has the right to receive the best that the society can offer. Children need to grow in an environment that enable them to lead a life of freedom and dignity where opportunities of education and training are provided to grow into a worthy citizen. Unfortunately a large proportion of children are deprived of their basic rights and are found working in various sectors of economy. Child labour is a global phenomenon.

A child according to Article 24 of the Constitution of India is “any one below the age of fourteen”

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: Article 1 –“refers to a child as any one below the age of eighteen years”

The Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act, 1986, defines Child as a “person who has not completed his fourteenth year of age”

2.2.3 What is Child Labour?

V.V. Giri National Labour Institute (2001) has distinguished the term “child labour in two senses. First, as an economic practice and secondly, as a social evil. The first signifies employment of children in gainful occupation with a view of adding the income of the family, and the second broad aspect
which takes into account the dangers to which the children are exposed, describes the denial of opportunities of development to the child.

The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences defines the child labour as “when the business of wage-earning or of participation in self or family support conflicts directly or indirectly with the business of growth and education, the result is child labour. The function of work in childhood is primarily developmental and not economic. Children’s work then, as a social good, is the direct antithesis of child labour as a social evil”.

The International Labour Organisation (1983) report defines child labour as children prematurely leading adult lives, working long hours for low wages, under conditions of damaging to their health and to their physical and mental development, sometimes separated from their families, frequently deprived of meaningful education and training opportunities that could open up for them a better future”.

In this study child labourers are defined to refer to children below the age of fifteen working as full time labourers for remuneration in hazardous or non-hazardous activities without any social security and poor working condition. Having defined the concept, the various forms of child labour existing in India and elsewhere, and various forms of child labour are given in the following section, which will enable one to have some conceptual clarity.
2.2.4 What are the Forms of Child Labour?

Children work forms as a part of family labour or as wage earners, sometimes as migrant labour. Very often they remain invisible and remain in bondage. They are found in all the three sectors of the economy i.e. the agriculture, manufacturing and service sectors.

2.3 Agriculture Sector

In rural area children are engaged in agriculture and allied occupations as a part of family labour or as individual workers. They may work as paid or unpaid workers in different forms such as Migrant Labourers, Invisible Labourers and Bonded Labourers.

2.4 Manufacturing Sector

Children are engaged in various manufacturing process of different home–based industries such as brassware, lock, beedi, match and fire works, diamond cutting, gem polishing, glassware, carpet making, slate etc. Very often they work in sub-human conditions and in exploitative situation. They may also be working as Migrant labourers, Invisible labourers, Wage labourers and Self employed children. Similarly in the services sector children are employed as Self-employed labourers, Invisible labourers and in Wage-based employment.
2.5 Invisible Child labourers posses the following characteristics

These children who are working in the unorganized or / and informal sectors, do not come under the purview of law, constitute a substantial proportion of the child labour population in the country and do not go to school.

Migrant Child Labourers may be of the following nature

Children migrate from the rural area to the urban or from smaller to larger towns/cities either with their families or alone. They migrate either for better employment opportunities or to escape from bondage.

Bonded Child Labourers

Run-away children due to disinterest in studies, family torture may also be included in this category. Children who are pledged by their parents guardians to employers in lieu of debts or payments may also be included here. Where the rates of interest on loans are so high that the amount to be repaid accumulates every year, making repayment almost impossible and make the child ever bonded.

Urban Child Labourers

The phenomenon of urban child labour includes street children. These children belongs to three broad categories:
Children on the Street

Working children, who have left their families in villages but spend most of their time on the streets, earn for themselves and may or may not contribute to the family income.

Children off the Streets

Working children who have left their families in villages or towns and have migrated to the city. Do not have a place to live and hence spend their nights at the railway platforms, bus stations etc. Live independently and usually spend all that they earn on themselves on the same day.

Abandoned / Orphaned Children

Working children without families or whose families have abandoned them. Generally spend their lives on the streets without any kind of support and are hence the most exploited and abused of the lot.

UNICEF has classified child work into three categories

They are within the family, within the family but outside the home and outside the family.
Within the Family

Children who are engaged without pay in domestic household tasks, agricultural/pastoral work, handicraft/cottage industries etc.

Within the Family but Outside the Home

Children engaged in agricultural / pastoral work, which consists of (seasonal / full-time) migrant labour, local agricultural work, domestic service, construction work, and informal occupation e.g. recycling of waste-employed by others and self-employed.

Outside the Family

Children are employed by others in bonded work, apprenticeship, skilled traders (carpet embroidery, brass/copper work), industrial unskilled occupation/mines, domestic work, commercial work in shop and restaurants, begging, prostitution and pornography.

Other classification of Child Labour

2.5.1 Full-time Child Labourers

Full time child labourers are to those children whose main activity is economic and (from 1981) children who have spent more than half the year (183 days or more) in economic activity. It is like main workers category defined in Indian Census.
2.5.2 Marginal Child Labourers

Marginal child labourers are those children who are engaged in economic activity is not economic (from 1981) and children who have been engaged in economic activity for less than half (183 days) a year.

2.5.3 Nowhere children

There are about 74.4 million children who are enrolled in schools nor accounted for in the labour force, who come under the category of “nowhere” children. A residual category of the child population (5-14 years) which is neither at school nor reported to be economically active as full time or marginal workers. They are either doing nothing, or performing household work not classified as economic activity, or are on the fringe (beggars, prostitutes, etc.) and have not been recorded in either of the economically active categories.

The occurrences of child labour is influenced by several socio-economic factors. In order to analyse the effects of each of these factors, a more detailed division of the child workers is necessary. There are interesting differences between:

(i) Urban children versus rural children.

(ii) Children active in agriculture versus those active in non-agricultural work, such as mining, manufacturing, transport, trade and commerce, communication and service activities.
2.5.4 Conditions of work

The conditions of work of children are a major concern. Children are subjected to long hours of work in poor working conditions, low wages, lack of schooling, insecurity of employment and occupational hazards which affect them adversely.

2.6 Type of child work

2.6.1 Domestic work or unpaid work

Children in both rural and urban areas undertake non-productive, unpaid work for the maintenance of the household, thus allowing their parents to go out and work as wage labourers. Caring for younger siblings, cooking, cleaning, washing, fetching water, etc., are the nature of work performed by children in this category.

2.6.2 Wage work or paid work

Both in the rural agrarian and the urban organised and unorganised sectors, children work as wage labourers. They are in great demand in road side restaurants or as apprentices to artisans as motor mechanics and are also employed as rag pickers, hawkers, newspaper vendors etc. Here it is the sheer economic necessity that forces the parents and the children to go for work in their early age.
2.7 Theoretical perspectives of child labour

Historically, in our country, child labour has been seen as an economic phenomenon. The relationship between children and work is dictated to a great extent by the stage of economic system of production prevalent in a country. Consequently, a change in the economic system and the mode of production brings out a change in the structure of the labour force leading to a change in the economic role of children. Thus with the onset of industrialization and the prospect of wage labour, children have been progressively employed in industry as well as domestic and commercial establishments. Government reports in 1983 showed that around 17.4 million children below the age of 15 in the labour force, constituting 6.8 percent of the rural labour force and 24 percent of the urban labour force (Weiner 1991) were working as child labourers.

2.7.1 Demand-side of the child labour

On the demand-side, child labour has been accepted, because it is believed to have an economic base that fits into a demand supply framework. On the demand side, there are two sets of reasons why employers prefer children. First, employing children is a cheaper and more stable proposition and hence a more profitable one. Children can be employed at much lower wage than adults and made to work for longer hours. The piece rate system of remuneration which is the norm with child labour, benefits mostly the employers. Children
do not form unions and they can be easily laid off if the need arises without any form of compensation. The other reasons why there exists a demand for children in the work-force relate to the special characteristics of children which lend themselves to employment in certain industries. In general, children are considered more active, agile and quick and feel less tired than adults in certain jobs. Also they can be cleared, admonished, pulled up and punished for faults without jeopardizing relations.

2.7.2 Supply-side of the child labour

On the supply-side, the most commonly cited explanation given for the existence of child labour is the poverty of households that supply children to the labour force. The perceptions that exist towards children and are dictated by the low economic status of families, where children are seen as economic assets. It is contended that families of the working children are so poor that their very survival is threatened by the lack of income. Thus children are compelled to take up various activities including working as family labour in household enterprises, assisting in contracts undertaken by parents taking over various household duties to enable parents to do other work, and working outside the home as cheap labourer in small factories, commercial and domestic establishments. The cost category often forces them to spend large amount of their earnings in conditions not conducive to their health and safety. Not only do the children earn their own livelihood, they allow parents to spend
more time on income generating work by taking charge of household duties. Further, greater importance is given to the learning of skills from an early age, as opposed to school education as it is believed that school curricula distract children from the village economy, creating aspirations for white collar jobs that are hard to get. The skills on the other hand will enable them in securing employment when they grow up. Thus child labour is considered as a kind of apprenticeship and perceived as a vital part of the learning process and in no way detrimental to the child’s development. And finally, the quality of the schools is so poor that parents are reluctant to send their children to them and children are not motivated to attend either. Hence it appears that the overall economic situation coupled with the lack of proper educational facilities explains the persistence of child labour.

2.8 Poverty

It is the state of affairs of the people in which they are unable to receive a minimum of annual income which enables them to obtain minimum nutritional requirements at the basic price.

2.9 Hazardous Occupations

It means performance of activities in an unhealthy environment, which leads to health hazardous resulting in various disorders and diseases. It also
means children being engaged in dangerous activities such as raw material
cutting, shaping and polishing.

2.10 Child Exploitation

In 1986, the UNICEF Executive Board approved a child labour policy
that specified broad criteria to define the exploitation of child workers. It was
determined that children were being exploited if.

- they were working full time at too early an age, they were working too
  many hours;
- their work exerted undue physical, social or psychological stress, they
  were working and living on the streets under bad conditions; they were
  working for inadequate pay, they were working at job with too much
  responsibility; their work hampered access to education and was
detrimental to their full social and psychological development and they
were performing work that could undermine a child’s dignity and self-
esteeem.

2.11 Estimates of child labour

The estimation on the magnitude of child labour may be useful to
understand the extent of child labour in different occupation. ILO’s global
labour force report (1975) estimated that the child labour reached 15.1 million;
the National Sample Survey says in 1977-78, it was 16.25 million; as per the 1981 census it was 13.6 million. (Operation Research Group)

Operation Research Group (1983) accounts it to be 44 million and the Labour Ministry Report in 1991, when the minister announced a plan to "liberate" 2 million working children said it was 20 million. The differences in the estimation may be due to multiplicity of definition, diverse sources of data, lack of information on the vast unorganised sector of the economy under-reporting in industries where, child labour is regulated, non-inclusion of domestic work etc.

Child prostitution is the sexual exploitation in cash or in kind. It is deeply dehumanizing. A survey by the Central Social Welfare Board in six major Indian cities in 1991-92 revealed that 29.38 per cent of all prostitutes were below 20 and a Bombay estimate shows that 20 per cent of them are minors. The government's efforts of promoting tourism could indirectly contribute to child prostitution like it was in Thailand and the Philippines.

Street children are yet another category. They do various forms of work. One of the commonest because it is relatively easy to start, is rag picking. One study estimates that there are 35000 street children just in Bombay.

Hotel workers and domestic workers form another category. As per an analogous estimate, there are 50000 children employed in the 11750 hotels,
restaurants, canteens in Bombay. Often domestic work becomes a bonded labour when a child lives with and works for her / his employees.

There are estimates by different studies which says that there are one million child labourers in Bangle industries in Uttar Pradesh, 1000 children in slate industry, 50000 in diamond cutting and 1000 in shoe and chappel making.

A study carried out in India revealed that 24.7 percent of the children surveyed had started work between the ages of 6 and 9.48 per cent between 10 and 12 and 26.9 percent between 13 and 15.

Juyal (1993) observed that to the primary census made in 5 different segments, the ratio between adult and child workers works out as 1:2.254. In an estimated population of 500000 weavers, child workers should number 346000, which is not very wide off the first estimates of 350000 in the loom / weaving sector alone. As far as bonded labourers are concerned, a study conducted by Gandhi Peace Foundation and the National labour Institute in 10 states estimated that, India has 2.6 million bonded labourers of which 8.1 per cent are male children and remaining are female. Next to this, the export oriented industries are in fact a significant sector of child employment where about 8 percent of total child labour force works. The major export industries which utilise child labour are hand-knitted carpets, gemstone polishing, brass and base metal articles, glass and glass ware, footwear, textiles and silk and fireworks.
It is found that the hitherto unrecognised, distinctive feature of this North Arcot Ambedkar district is that there are thousands of children without a childhood. Some time back a deity was installed in the temple. But will these children get back what they have lost. Thousands of children in this district live in similar 'debt traps'. But more shocking is the fact they do not exist even as numbers on Government records. In the absence of proper enumeration, the enormity of the problem remains unnoticed. As many as 14 development blocks are drought prone in this district, and small farmers and agricultural labourers have taken up jobs in the beedi industry, being low-cost, low-technology and highly labour intensive, has struck root in the district. A quick sample survey by the "Arivozhi lyakkam (Total Literacy Compaign - TLC) showed that about 64000 families, including 45000 children below 14, are involved in production. The beedi industry accounts for 20 per cent of the jobs in the unorganised sector and is a major source of supplementary income for households in areas where the industry is concentrated. And 90 percent of the beedi workers are living below poverty (Vidyasagar, 1995).

Neera Burra (1986) says that depending on the definition of work and the perspective of child labour, the estimates differ. Based on its limited definition of work only for monetary wages, the Census of India puts the number of child labourers at 10 million in 1971 and 13.5 million in 1981. The National Sample Survey 1983 uses similar definition and puts their numbers at 17.36 million.
2.12 Nature of Industries appointing Child Labourers

The children are found working in India in beedi-making, carpet-weaving, cement manufacturing, cloth printing, dyeing and weaving, manufacture of matches, explosives and fireworks, mica-cutting and splitting, shellac manufacture, soap manufacture, tanning, wool cleaning, the construction industry etc. which are all classified as hazardous industries by the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986. However, children are also found in zari weaving, glass manufacture, lock making, gem polishing, rag picking, cleaning sewers and many others which are non-hazardous by law, but are highly harmful and hazardous.

Child labour in the urban areas include domestic workers, sex workers, helpers in restaurants, shops, canteens and garages, hawkers, paper vendors, porters, shoe shine boys, sweepers and scavengers, workers in small workshops, construction workers etc.

2.13 Studies on extent of Child Labour in different Industries

Studies on child labour are many focussing on different themes including the factors, causes, impact, working conditions in different type of industries etc. The studies are accordingly categorised and reviewed.

Singh Gurbir (1982) reported that the fire works industry in Sivakasi, Tamilnadu which supplies 95 percent of the country's fireworks, till 1982 piled up Rs. 150 crores as profit every year, employs children ranging from
30000 to 70000. A state sponsored study (1994) showed that there were 65000 children working in the match industry.

Another study by Vishwapriya Iyengar, (1987) found that nearly one lakh children are in match industries and fire works in Sivakasi of Kamarajar district of Tamilnadu. She added that the age of the children working in match factories ranged between three and a half and 15 years, who work for 12 hours a day and get into health problems of eye irritation.

Neera Burra’s (1986a) study on the exploitation of child labour in Jaipur gem industry has brought to light the health and working conditions of children in this industry. Surprisingly he has noted that while the gem polishing industry is the largest single employer in Jaipur and polished colour gem stones contributed to the government of India’s foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 1400 crores a year, no labour laws apply to this industry. India is able to compete in the international market inspite of not getting the best quality raw materials, is because of the availability of cheap labour.

Gemstone polishing from which around 1 billion worth of gems has been exported from India to U.S. produced at various states in which the child labour estimates vary between 6000 to 100000.

Neera Burra (1986b), has also studied the plight of child labour in glass factories of Firozabad, where there are almost 50000 children below the age of 14, working in the glass industries making it as one of the highest concentration of child labour industry in the world. Labour laws are openly flouted in
Firozabad with the complete convenience of the workers. In particular in the 20th century India does not appear to be significantly different from what industrial workers in nineteenth century England must have gone through.

Neera Burra (1987) in a study of child labour in lock industry in Aligarh found that children are employed in all processes of lock making and the most hazardous of them are polishing, electroplating, spray painting and working on hand-presses. The children are made to work for 12-14 hours and the hand-pressing is the dangerous of a kind in which many of the children lost their tips of fingers which get caught into machines. He added that it is necessary to investigate industries, which appoint children and the impact on health.

Patel (1987), has reported that the incidence of child labour diamond in Gujarat cutting industry is more than what has been covered so far in a number of reports. The incidence varies between Surat city on the one hand, and small towns like Navsari which, shows a low incidence of child labour in the industry of 6 percent or so. Similarly the observed variation in the incidence of child labour across size/classes of diamond cutting establishments in Surat and Navsari are not systematic but random and hence large units as well as small units is shown as similar in so far as the incidence of child labour is concerned.

Dingwaney et-al (1988) reported that in U.P about 25 percent of the 2 lakh workers are children upto 15 years of age in glass industry. Factory owners claim that they are helping the poor by employing children. But if
factories did not employ children, production would drop by 25 percent. Hence the causes are two fold. Economic necessity of the family and cheap labour for factory, motivate both parents and employers to use children in work.

Karunanithi G. (1997) in his study on beedi child labourers found that in North Arcot district of Tamilnadu, children of six to seven years are going to beedi works, working for an average hours of 10 per day. Their work pressure makes them weak and stagnates their growth. This is attributed to malnutrition; they are highly susceptible to respiratory diseases.

Mishra and Diwakar (1996) stated that around 2.5 lakh workers are engaged in the glass industry at Ferozabad, in which child labour alone constituted more than 50000. His study concluded the poverty-stricken families are compelled to put their children to work for meager wages in the glass industry. So far as a comprehensive package does not really reach the poor household to package their productive capacities and income above the subsistence level, child labour will continue to work for wages.

2.14 Child labour as a social problem

Child labour is a socio-economic problem. The principal causes of ‘child labour’ are poverty, large family, absence of provision for compulsory education, illiteracy, ignorance of parent’s etc. Exploitation of child labour seems to be a problem related to other factors, such as the destruction of the
countryside and the slow death of rural hinterland and the loss of control over the resource base for the rural artisan.

In India, children who do go to school care for cattle, tend younger children, collect firewood and work in the fields. Some are bonded labourers. Children are employed in tea stalls, restaurants or as household workers in middle class homes. Some become prostitutes or live in the streets, begging or picking rags and bottles from trash for resale. Large number of them work in cottage industries producing carpets, matches, fire crackers, cigarettes, brassware, diamonds, glass, hosiery, handloom cloth, embroidery, bangles, traditional handicraft etc.

2.15 Causes

Child labour ensures more profits and higher productivity for the employers since child labour is cheap compared to adult labour. At an age, when children are supposed to play and have entertainment, they are found engaged in domestic chores right from the age of eight. Absence of any provision for compulsory education is another reason for the existence of child labour. Indebtedness among families, especially rural agricultural indebtedness, is another major cause for families to keep their children employed as domestic servants, agricultural workers, daily wage employees. Due to bondage, some families prefer to keep children with landlord and moneylenders.
There are no regular or definite provisions for social security of unemployed and poor families in third world countries. There is no allowance of social security for poor families in India and parents are forced to send their children to the labour market. The presence of children in the labour market reduces the level of employment of adults, which has a dampening effect on the wage rates of adult workers. The resulting poverty, in turn encourages parents to send their children to work for the survival of the family. This vicious circle further denies nutrition, health, education and skill to the poor. The presence of socio-economic parameters like origin, caste and religion also causes stress and strain.

The World Bank Report (1991) has mentioned certain causes for the high incidence of child labour in both developed and developing countries. The most important one is poverty which compels parents to send their children to work. Parents do desire to supplement their meager incomes with those of their children. There are bonded labourers, working as virtual slaves, to pay off debt not knowing when they will be released.

The Report also pointed out that some work in the morning and attend school in the afternoon; others do not. The reason why most children are away from schools is that schooling may be so inadequate that the parents do not consider it worth while. In urban areas, the report observes, that children are more likely to be working away from their parents, often as domestic servants.
in the houses of richer families. A pernicious aspect of child labour is that it may lead to child prostitution.

The widespread prevalence of child employment can be explained in a supply–demand framework. Economic backwardness of the region exhibited by low employment opportunities, poverty (Kulashreshta 1978, Kumar 1983, Shrikantan 1991), low literacy rate and inadequate infrastructure facilities are considered to be the prime causes of child labour. In fact, some organisational observations (ILO 1996, 1997, UNICEF 1997) are unequivocal about poverty as the major determinant of child labour, though the magnitude of its influence is yet to be assessed. The Luxury Axiom says that a family will send the children to the labour market if the family’s income from non-child labour sources drops very low. The low wage of adult workers also motivates the parents to send their children to work.

Mohanty and Mihir (2001) on the child domestic servants identified both the supply and demand factors in which he held that lack of opportunities for the adult in rural areas and low wages have led the children to migrate to cities. On the demand side he has brought out factors like, child labourers do not protest to do odd jobs, make less demands, and are easy to manage etc.

Bhatt (2001) found that the incidence of child labour is high wherever the access to primary education is low. Girls are affected mostly due to the need for domestic help.
Vijayagopalan (1993) has described how the child labourers in carpet industry are being exploited by their employers. Virtually these child labourers are bonded labourers since their parents have been given the lump sum payments of Rs. 2300 to 2800 per child and they are required to work for a specified number of years, mutually agreed upon by the parents and the agents. In the event of breaking the agreement, the parents have to repay the amount with interest. Obviously, the poverty stricken parents would not be in a position to repay the amount. Consequently the children are bound to work for the employer. Due to acute poverty in the area, parents are forced to send their children for work and employers are employing them as bonded labourers.

Laskar (2000), in his study on child labour in Aligarh Lock industry portrayed beautifully the case histories and also identified the causes. He emphasised that the household economic pressures compel children to enter into low wage and hazardous work environment that proves detrimental to their education and health prospects.

Elias Mendelievich (1979) emphasised that the principal cause of child labour is poverty, which drives even young children to seek job to supplement family’s income, and therefore they have to forgo education, recreation and even health.

Sarma (1979) states that due to the widespread poverty and ignorance prevailing in our country, children start working at an early age. Many a reason can be attributed to the growing number of child labour in India.
Amongst others, the main reasons are poverty, inequitable distribution of assets, insufficient legislative protection and absence of strong child labour union.

Lee Swepston (1982) argued that the poverty is the basic cause of child labour; poverty may also be one of its consequences where a large number of children must go to work either to support themselves or to contribute to family incomes.

Shariff (1991) while examining child work and child schooling relations, argues that with increasing contraception in the rural areas, fertility has started declining and, in the absence of labour saving agricultural technology, fewer children would have to bear the greater burden of household and other work. This may lead to a decline in school enrolment and literacy levels in the coming years.

Rameshwari Pandya (1999) has analysed and indicates that nearly one fifth of the children dropout from the municipal schools every year from the total enrolment. It also indicates that there are several home as well as school related factors responsible for their dropout like parent having no time to teach and having to do lot of household work, boring teaching style and punishment. Also dropout children get engaged in domestic work as well as work outside the household after leaving the schools on economic compulsion.

Sanghamitra Budhapriya (1995), article analysed the various causes of child labour. The significant causes of child labour are poverty, large family,
A large number of children work in cottage industries producing carpets, matches, firecrackers, cigarettes, brassware, diamonds, glass, hosiery, handloom cloth, embroidery, bangles and traditional handicrafts. Numbers of children are employed in unorganized sectors and they work as domestic servants or as workers in hotels, restaurants, canteens, wayside shops and establishment. The working children are subjected to long hours of work, poor working conditions, low wages, lack of schooling, insecurity of employment and occupational hazards, which affect them adversely. The poor working condition has serious adverse impact on a child's health and development. Throughout India children work under conditions that cause widespread physical injury such as loss of eyesight, slain disease, respiratory and lung problems. Finally, the author says that child labour as a social plight has such wide ramifications that combating it would be as difficult as trying to eliminate poverty. But the number of child labourers has been increasing. Banning child labour altogether in industries and elsewhere is a long-term measure, but combating exploitation is the immediate need. Release of children from dangerous occupations or bondage, and their reassignment in safer and less tedious must be carried out at once. This way family who depends upon the earnings of children would not be pushed further below the subsistence level. There could also be a system of disincentives on retention of child workers and a ban of future recruitment. This necessitates the maintenance of registers.
Simultaneously, Government resources, along with those of companies willing to contribute, can be channeled to finance schemes that improve working conditions of children as related to hours of work, per day wages and basic facilities at the site, health coverage, nutrition programmers, compulsory primary school education and vocational non-formal education.

Mishra and Pande (1996) in their study found that 95 percent of the households were not in a position to meet their subsistence requirements and needed supplementary incomes and sent their children to earn. The need to acquire skill in order to increase their market value induced 1.64 percent to work. This study also shows that an inverse relationship exists between the household size and the percentage of working children below 14 years.

Sinha (1998) observed that a strenuous work at a young age has direct consequences on child’s development, both physical and mental. Physically, they are not suited to long hours of strenuous and monotonous work. A large number of them suffer from malnutrition, which lowers their resistance even further and makes them all the more vulnerable to diseases.

In a cross-country study, Ahmed (1999) examines the determinants of the incidence of child labour and found that adult literacy, the share of agriculture in GDP, school environment rates, GNP per capita and demographic factors are the most powerful determinants of child labour. They also showed that poverty is the least powerful of seven determinants empirically tested for their influence on the incidence of child labour.
Philip Abraham (1992) observes that legally no child below 14 should work. The employers quest for tender age fingers with dexterity to work fast on match sticks has brought the real age of working children to 10 or even 9.

Nagarajan R (1997) also observed that the availability of hired labourers and ability of farmers to pay for them together may have an influence on the labour contribution of children to the farm households.

Chandrasekar C.P. (1997) has argued that a poverty-determined or population-density driven ‘survival-strategy’ does not, in all probability, provide the proximate explanation for the phenomenon of child work. While such condition may be necessary for the prevalence of the practice, they do not appear to be sufficient. This is possibly because the proximate explanation is constituted to factors from the demand side that create a selective market for cheap child labour, which is then serviced by the poorer, but not necessarily poverty-stricken households. The segmented market for child workers is possibly a demand-side creation, and tends to be larger wherever the overall demand for workers of all ages is higher. As per the census data the incidence of child labour is much lower in more backward states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. It is mainly because of the way child labour is defined and underreporting of the incidence. But this underestimation is revealed when we look at the data on out of school children which is a proxy indicator for the actual incidence of child labour. If we relate the incidence of out of school children with the poverty levels in different regions, there is a
very positive correlation between the two. Furthermore, his argument on the analysis of data on poverty and incidence of child labour is at sufficiently aggregate levels. He found that there is no significant correlation between the incidence of child labour and poverty levels in the rural areas of 17 states in India. Poverty, thus while not the proximate cause of the phenomenon of child labour, is the seedbed in which it thrives. It allows the pull of demand to automatically generate a corresponding supply.

Sikligar P.C. (1999) has analysed that factors determining child labour and held that it is a world wide phenomenon, the roots of labour are deep in poor societies. Therefore, elimination of child labour is not an easy task. There is an immediate need to implement all relevant social legislation and industrial acts effectively and on the other side, ensures all social and economic stability. All such persons who are entering the legislation or acts should be punished appropriately. Similarly, there is a need for massive propaganda through pamphlets, posters and documentary films to prevent the exploitation of this vulnerable section of society.

Rajeshwari Panigrahi (1999) in his study is of the opinion that child labour in India has been a fact and harsh reality in the socio-economic fabric of the nation. Over the past few decades, a wide gamut of legislations have been enacted prohibiting child labour. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has played a revolutionary role in changing the status of child labour. Despite all efforts, there has been growing incidence of child
labour in India with the continuance of this menace, the planned development of the human resources on scientific lines is hardly possible and India cannot take its rightful place in the next century. The problem of child labour in fact demands a lasting solution. This problem needs to be tackled through the adoption of suitable changes in the socio-economic structure supplemented by legal measures.

Sarumathy M. (1999), in her study in Pudukkottai district proves that just providing legal measures alone will not solve any social problem. The legal spirit should be brought under implementation in full swing with the association of other developmental efforts. Other wises a serious social problem like child labour cannot be eradicated. This involves co-ordination and co-operation of all departments at the district level. The implementation of other rural development programmes in these areas should be considered on emergency basis to attack the problem from different directions. Otherwise the legal protection alone will not save the families from poverty by foregoing the income of the children to the families, therefore, the institution of child labour in Pudukkottai calls for immediate concern of all officials in the district. Otherwise the better situation prevailing in the district will change to an unfortunate state of affairs.

Patel B.B. (1989) emphasized that strategy to progressively retain more and more children in schools for longer period would need action on; (1) poverty alleviation programmes, (2) creation of more avenues for
productive, employment, (3) education of parents through functional literacy programmes about the role of education, (4) establishment of working children’s hostels to take care of food, and (5) education-cum-training and recreation programmes for children in major cities of India.

Mishra (2000) has pointed out that there are widely varying perceptions and schools of thought about the definition and concept of child labour in India. Some of them felt that the magnitude of the problem is so enormous that it would be very difficult for the country to ensure free and compulsory primary education for additional 100 million plus children with an additional cost of Rs.40000 crores annually. They hold that the elimination of child labour therefore should be viewed as a long-term goal to be achieved progressively rather than at a stroke; while others believe that the state must act suitably according to the wishes of these children whether they want to go to school or work. Whatever may be the conflicting view points, the fact, however, remains that as every child in the age group of 0-6 years undoubtedly needs access to health, hygiene, sanitation and nutrition for a sustained physical growth. Universal primary education at the age of 5 plus is almost an equally important social need.

Wiener (1991) argues that cultural attitudes, rather than poverty, are the key causes of children’s workforce participation in India.
2.16 Impact

Hemmer et.al (1997) attributes to the impact of liberalisation to the demand for child labour. They added that the work effect due to macro shocks could increase child labour population. The stabilisation policies reduce the aggregate demand for goods and services and reduce demand for labour. Labour supply shifts from formal to informal sector, the wage rates of adults and children are likely to fall. There may be a substitution effect of adults replacing child labour. Due to income effect also (increase in unemployment and poverty) child labour may increase.

George (1990) conducted a field research in Chinnalapatti, in South India, where handloom cotton and silk weaving are being done as the traditional craft and trade for several generations. Findings from field work (but not labour) have revealed the aspects of growth of the industry from the physical, psychological, social and intellectual stand point. The spontaneous integration of education and work has been an accepted social process in the life of this community all along. Rather than being perceived as a decant practice, work climate is rightful place in the lives of most children. Education through work was seen as a part of life, rather than a preparation for it. The author has analysed the effect of child labour on the child. He says that the child labour retards the physical, mental and social development of the child.
Dyson (1991) says that children work because people have children, people do not have children because children have to work. In other words, child labour is the result of high fertility, not the cause. His view opposes the income utility explanation of fertility preference.

In urban areas too, children work for long hours sometimes longer than their adult counterparts. A study conducted by George K. N (1977) in the city of Madras reveals that all working children in his sample worked eight to fifteen hours a day. Not only do the children work in unhygienic conditions for longer hours, but they are paid poorly.

Patnam V.N (1997) study on the children’s perception revealed that more than 95 per cent do not mind working as it brings part time earnings and only 69 per cent disliked their jobs.

2.17 Working Conditions

Whittaker’s (1988) analysis of the forms of bondage among the child weavers working in the carpet industry of India, shows that in the carpet belt of Uttar Pradesh, India’s largest provincial state, ironically centered around the holy city of Varanasi—there are some 100000 malnourished children working in cramped conditions, in badly–lit and badly–ventilated sheds. Some 15 percent of these children have been sold into debt bondage. These child weavers are boys, and some of them are as young as seven or eight. They produce the carpet that is all otherwise they are invisible. They work usually one or two in
a shed, in a remote area, in inaccessible villages and earn at the most a few pennies a day, some are paid nothing at all.

Lieten (2000) says that the western studies have exaggerated the problem of the child labour in India. According to him, “the working child in fact is very much a rural phenomenon, in self-employment on the family farm or joining the family workforce unit during the crop seasons as agricultural labourers”. The high figures which studies referred by to include all these children who are engaged in any type of work, within or outside the family, at any time of the day. One tends to agree with Leiten regarding the exaggeration of child labour problem by the Western studies and media. However, if we consider education as the right of the child, one can view those who are outside the school as child workers. Some of them may become full time child labourers if measures are not taken.

Shobha (1992) held that the conjunction of household form of production along with factory system of production not only succeeds in exploiting child labour but also helps the owners to valorize their capital by using child labour by avoiding the legal measures with impunity. Such a dual system of production and the collusion between the owners and government officials not only reproduces child labour but also retains it in a sustained manner.

Sanghamitra Buddapriya (1995) analysed that child labour in addition to a socio-economic problem who related the factors such as destruction of
the country side and the slow death of rural hinterland and the loss of control over the resource base for the rural artisans for child labour.

Tiwari (1997) held that child development can be endangered by work as under (i) Physical development: including overall health co-ordination, strength, vision and hearing (ii) Cognitive development: including literacy, numeracy and the acquisition of knowledge necessary for normal life (iii) Emotional development: including adequate self-esteem, family attachment and feeling of love and acceptance (iv) Social and moral development: including a sense of group identify, the ability to co-operate with others and the capacity to distinguish right from wrong.

Manju Gupta (1999) in a study argues that the issue of child labour has come into sharp focus on the world scenario, particularly in the context of the export of commodities, which may be the produce of working children. Hence, a number of initiatives have been taken, in an attempt to control child exploitation, imposing trade ban on sanctions being one of them. The developing countries, in general, have been opposed to the “social clause”, because they feel that it is another way of raising projectionist trade barriers. Economics sanctions imposed on exports could result in severe debt, because if the production cost goes up then these countries may unable to compete in the international market.
Vemuri and Shastry (1991) in an analysis of the National Sample Survey (NSS) data in India also indicate that the wage contribution of children from landowning households may not be as important as in the case of landless households.

Jayaraj D (2002) In his paper makes an attempt to estimate the numbers of child workers in Tamil Nadu under both the ‘restrictive’ and the ‘liberal’ definitions; and in so far as the interests, claims and rights of the child are concerned, it is the latter definition which should be of prime relevance. Even under the conservative, ‘restrictive’ definition the magnitude of child labour in Tamil Nadu is disturbingly large, NSS data for 1987-88 suggest that nearly eleven children out of every one hundred are in the workforce. The count becomes even more disturbingly large when we resort to the ‘liberal’ definition: going by Census 1981 (respectively, NSS 1983) figures, the number of child workers per 100 is over 40 (respectively, 33).

2.18 Street Children

Hajira Kumar (1997) in his study on street children underlined the social problems associated with street children such as (1) existence of a deprived group (2) insecurity (3) delinquency and criminal behaviour (4) exploitation of girl children and (5) wastage of human resources

Manimekali N and R. Kunjammal (1999) their study on street children, found that street children are the worst sufferers of all the child labour
community who are actually toiling themselves for the sake of the family
survival in the unorganised nature of work, in their very early age. This is
really attributed to the states irresponsibility and inability. Several schemes are
working for the welfare of these children, including the latest child labour
elimination project. But what has been done so far remains to be questioned.

2.19 Remedy

Guha (2001), in his theoretical framework analysis examined the
substitution effect (between child labour and education) and the income effect
arising from the income of the adults in the household. He advocated that in
order to remove child labour, the income of the family will have to reach a
threshold level that will encourage child education instead of child labour. He
added that the exogenous factors that enhance the utility of child labour must
be eliminated.

Swagata Das et.al (2001) on the child labourers of hand loom industry in
West Bengal found that Maharajan’s control over the looms and raw materials
has made the households dependent on it. He suggested for provision of pucca
housing, micro credit etc., to enable these households to own and engage in
self-employment.

Elias Mendelievich (1979) and other studies at international level by
World Bank, ILO, UNICEF etc., all have underlined and emphasised the free
and compulsory education and compensation for the parents in the short run to remove the child labour.

On similar line Sivaswamy (1991) also found that there is a strong association between illiteracy and child work participation. Khuda (1991) found in his analysis that there is a negative association between economic status and the number of child labour. The author suggests that raising standard of living of rural people and ensuring easy access to schooling would lead to a reduction in child labour.

(Rameshwari Pandya (1999) has analysed the common suggestion given by the dropouts, teachers and parents, where it was underlined that the teachers should teach with interest and teacher should pay individual attention on students. So more and more attempts or programmes should be brought forward to solve the problems of the slum children's education. It must be tackled at the parental level. As the children of illiterate parents are indifferent toward their education, parents have to be motivated to send their children to school. Also educational development, that is better planning, careful block level and institutional planning and school mapping should be emphasised along with the active involvement of the local community. Then there may be some chances that the dropout rate of such children can be controlled.)

Verma (1979) suggests for the removal of barriers of ignorance and backwardness and the need for a specific thrust on education. He added that no
dramatic result can be expected and without people’s participation and social awareness.

Robin Porter (1982) advocates to eliminate child labour in Hong Kong, by following the ILO's Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) adopted in 1973 by which the disappearance of all employment of children under 12 can be realised. He added that secondary education should be expanded as rapidly as possible, while primary education should be made free and compulsory, meanwhile very poor families might need to be offered a cash inducement to send their children to school to compensate for the lost contribution to the family income.

Myron Weiner (1991) observed that the key to eliminating child labour lies in a firmly enforced policy of compulsory schooling. Compulsory primary education is the policy instrument by which the state effectively removes children from the labour force. He is in no doubt that school attendance laws were more important, because they are easy to enforce, than child labour law.

Mishra et al. (1996) again on glass industry at Ferozabad underlined that the parents of poor families are compelled to put their children to work for meagre wages in the glass industry. Having said that all the official and unofficial agents concerning the employment of child labour have a shameless nexus with the vested interests and so the children continue to work in pitiable conditions, they added that the principle of compulsory education could play a decisive role with strong lobbying by pressure groups like religious leaders,
NGOs etc. NGOs also have a greater role to play in identifying and monitoring child labour units.

In Castle, Robert et.al. (1997) study the role of human resources development is largely emphasised in the promotion of industrial productivity, especially in relation to the states that embrace export-oriented development. Second, the present decade has been placing greater emphasis on the need to fulfill obligations enshrined. In the Directive Principles of the State Policy of our Constitution. The country has shown commitment as citizens of the world by promoting respect such as the convention on the rights of the child 1989. The third factor is that the recent history of India has highlighted the point that the child labour and school education policies of the different states of India have produced widely divergent results. Variations across states in labour participation rates of children are found enormous with a better policy-oriented state of Kerala being 1 per cent and a comparatively backward state of Andhra on the other end at 17 per cent for male children in 1981.

Maharatna (1997) in his discussion of children’s work activities and surplus labour argues that children’s participation not only disguises surplus labour but also substitutes adult work hours, thus in no way alleviating household poverty. He emphasised the need for fertility regulation among the poor couples, dissemination of knowledge and delivery of family control methods at affordable price.
Babu K.S. (1999) in his study has quoted that the special schools were started for the working children in the hazardous industries. About 1800 schools in India rehabilitated over 1 lakh children after withdrawal from hazardous occupations. Finally this study concluded that the abolition of child labour is not practicable unless every citizen is freed from the bondage of poverty and assured a minimum standard of living.

Neera Burra (1997) has suggested that compulsory primary education can reduce the number of children working in rural areas and as part of family labour.

In the workshop at National Institute for Rural Development (1997) held that the implementation of land reforms and minimum wages would help restore the family income, which could be disturbed due to withdrawal of child labour. If added that trade unions and other rural worker’s organisations have to draw a plan of action both short term and long term, for elimination of child labour. The government of India has not yet, ratified ILO convention 138 concerning child labour. Trade unions and other concerned citizens should impress upon the government to ratify ILO convention 138 and also implement it sincerely.

Saini’s (1994) study is based on fuller understanding of the increasing global awareness of child rights. The importance of compulsory primary education has to be viewed as a basic starting point in the context of this thinking. The hiring of children should be held illegal under all circumstances.
Along with these, undertaking public advocacy including through NGOs, and creating adequate social awareness should form part of public action programmes to ensure eradication of child labour.

Hirway et.al (1991) held that implementation of the child rights as given in the convention effect through a committee on the rights of the child. The committee, which consists of 10 members, well monitors compliance with the convention by the ratifying countries. They have to submit progress reports to the committee. India has yet to make necessary changes in its laws so as to implement the various provisions of the convention. But the signing of this convention will surely put greater pressure on the States, among others, to attend to the child labour issues. This pressure will no more be confined to just the enforcement of the child labour laws. The familiar context for child development is likely to get greater attention in this regard, so as to form part of comprehensive child development programme. This will also require reconsideration of issues in the development process itself.

Emily Delap (2001) Suggests that boys, housework contribution decrease, rather than increase with age. Boys generally only contribute to the two traditionally male housework chores namely shopping and firewood collection. Unlike girls, boys involved in income generating work are not expected to complete any housework chores. This means that many boys have more free time than girls do. In his study Delap argued that economic factors clearly have a role to play in decisions regarding child workforce entry in urban
Bangladesh. Low household incomes are associated with high rates of both child income generation and housework. Many families rely on children’s income generating and expenditure reducing activities to survive in times of need. Income stability can also have an effect on children’s income generating work. However, purely economic explanations of child work deployment are inadequate for several reasons. He suggested that economic and cultural force cannot be viewed in isolation, as the two often interact. The economic necessity of children working in female-headed households may be attributed to the insecure incomes of working women in urban Bangladesh. This insecurity may in turn be attributed to the cultural restriction of females to certain spheres of economic activity.

Nardinelli’s (1990) views are echoed by other research on child work in nineteenth-century Europe. Exploring French industrialisation, Heywood (1988) gives ‘pride’ of place to economic factors when explaining the rise and fall of children’s workforce participation. The eventual decline in the proportion of the workforce who were children is attributed to changes in the nature of production. These changes meant the children’s unskilled work was no longer required. In the context of an increasingly skilled workforce, household decision-makers also realised the value of investing in education and consequently sent children to school instead of to work.

Nardinelli and Heywood’s emphasis on the economic rationality of sending children to school and not to work has clear parallels with theories in
the New Household Economics (NHE). Initially developed by Becker (1981), the NHE theory of labour deployment states that intra-household decisions regarding task allocation are made purely on the basis of utility maximisation. Household members are allocated those tasks that will bring greatest returns to the household. Thus Becker argues that the sexual division of labour is the logical response to women’s reproductive role. As women bear children, they are most suited to their care, and are consequently tied to tasks within the home. Men are not so well suited to childcare and are therefore best deployed generating an income for the family. Children’s work is divided in a similar way to adults to prepare them for their adult lives. Other NHE theorists have used wage differentials to explain higher rates of male workforce participation compared to female workforce participation.

Many researcher emphasis economic motivations behind child workforce Entry: Children start work because families need the income they provide to survive. For example, during in depth interviews with working children in Bangladesh, UNICEF (1997) found that poverty was mentioned as a reason for workforce entry in most cases. In her study of child work in Peru, Boyden (1991) found that the incidence of child work is higher in female than male–headed households due to the lower and less stable incomes in these families. Researching on child work in India, Nangia (1991) argues that to ward off the specter of starvation, parents are often compiled to send their children to work.
Thus the review of related studies on various aspects and dimension of the social problem of child labour underlines the fact that education must be made compulsory. Hence, strict legislation of implementing the goal of universal compulsory primary education by strengthening the school infrastructure and other improvement needed to increase the enrolment and retention ratio of the children and ensuring sufficient compensation to the parents of child labour would go a long way in mitigating the evil of child labour.